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COMMUNISM AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

IT has sometimes been charged against the old and wealthy Communities of this country, by Labor Reform agitators and others, that in hiring the labor of persons outside their own organizations they violate the principles of Communism which they profess. The opinion of the persons who make this charge seems to be that Communists ought to do all their own work, and that their hiring outside labor is a wrong done to the workingmen. As Communism is believed by many to be the most hopeful solution of present troubles, it is important that the attitude of the Communities toward the Labor Question should be well understood, especially now when so much attention is on the subject of labor, and when the words Communism, Communist, etc., which have been so long used by us in their American sense, are getting to be so badly mixed up with the same words used in the objectionable French sense.

It is true that the Shakers, the Rappites, the Zoarites, the Oneida Community, the Amana Society, and, in fact, all the successful Communities, do hire outside help. The question is whether they are justified, on principle, in doing so? In examining the matter, these two features should be considered:

1. The state of things within the Communities themselves, and
2. Their relation to the world around them.

The founders and leaders of all these old Communities have selected the members of their societies solely on the basis of a religious belief, and have never had any property qualification for membership. Consequently, they did not pick out the rich nor exclude the poor, but took those of like faith with themselves, whether they had much or little of this world's goods. No one will be apt to doubt that societies formed under such conditions receive their full proportion of persons who have failed to accumulate property in competive life. As a matter of fact we think it could be demonstrated that the members of Communities in this country are not, on an average, superior in money-making ability to an equal number selected at random from ordinary society. Some of them were rich when they joined the Communities in which they now live, some of them were only well-to-do, and some were quite poor, never having got much ahead of their expenses. These people have combined and formed Communities in which all distinction of classes is abolished. The rich and the poor are equal. All the property is owned in common. The members all partake of the same dishes at a common table, all are equally well clothed and housed, and all share in the labor. The sick, of whom there are comparatively few, are nursed in the very best manner at the expense of the society, and in the Oneida Community, at least, all the children enjoy equal educational facilities and general care, whether they were born of parents who were formerly rich, or of those who were poor. It will be seen, therefore, that in these cases Communism has made a large number of persons and families rich who would have been poor if they had remained in small, isolated homes, and is giving them all the advantages that belong to the best classes in ordinary society. Is not this all that can be properly required of any single Community? We think it is; for if every body should do the same the distinction of classes would be every-where abolished, and the poor would fare as well as the rich. So far as their relations to each other are concerned, there is evidently no ground of complaint against the Communists. They are industrious, frugal, and provide all their members with an abundance of every thing needful.

But it may still be asked whether it is right for the Communities to add to their income by employing outside labor? It is evident that if all the world should determine to civilize themselves and live as Communists, the labor question would be permanently settled. All property would then be held in common, every body would have a good home and plenty to eat, drink and wear, and no one would need to work more than five or six hours per day. But the existing Communities can not compel the rest of the world to Communize as they do; so the question is narrowed down to this: Is it an injury or a benefit to the laboring men to be hired by the Communists? Or, since hiring by Communists is certainly no worse than hiring by others, but on the contrary is reputed to be more advantageous in many respects, such as liberal treatment and prompt and certain payments, the question becomes: Is it a benefit or an injury to the laborer to be hired and paid liberal wages? To this, we apprehend, there can be but one answer, although certain of the writers for the workingmen's papers seem to think there may be more. Regular employment at fair and prompt wages can only be a blessing to any man who is dependent on his labor for his bread. Read what Mr. Nordhoff says in his "Politics for Young Americans," under the heading, "Of Labor and Capital:"

"Take as an instance, the gold hunters in the early days of California. A multitude of men rushed to the rich placer diggings, hopeful of speedy fortune; but a large part of them presently discovered that they must eat and drink, and be clothed and sheltered, while they looked for and dug out gold; and not having a surplus sufficient to provide themselves with food, clothing and shelter in this emergency, what should they do? Die? No; a man who found himself in that situation sought out another who had a surplus, and said to him, Give me food, clothing and shelter, or the means of getting these, and I will give you my strength and skill, until I have saved by self-denial a surplus sufficient to enable me to prospect and dig on my own account. That is to say, he became a laborer for hire, or wages. Suppose now he could have found no one ready to hire him and pay him wages? Suppose every man who had a surplus (this surplus being capital) had laid it away in a strong box, and refused to use it in paying wages for the labor of the man without surplus? Do you not see that the chief sufferer in this case—the only immediate sufferer indeed—would be the man without surplus or capital, and in need of food and other necessaries of life, which he could get only by wages—or theft?

"But here you have the whole question of capital and labor; and if anybody tells you that there is a necessary and natural antagonism between capital and labor, you may safely set him down as an ignorant man.

"Capital is simply accumulated savings. He who has it becomes the enemy of labor only when he hides his capital in an old stocking or a fire-place, or in the ground: when he refuses to make use of it. * * * But while property, surplus, or capital is used by its possessors, it is a benefit to the whole mass of those who have no capital, and to whose advantage it is, as in the case of the needy miner, to be able to receive wages for their labor. The more numerous the laboring or non-capitalist class is, the more important to them, you must see, is a large accumulation of capital, for they depend on that to enable them to earn wages, and in their turn, if they will exercise self-denial, to save a surplus."

In the light of this argument we do not see that there is any just ground of complaint against the Communities for hiring labor. A Community is a little State within a State. In it there is no distinction of rich and poor. Its own members are industrious and fare well. But as it can not compel others to be Communists, it does the next best thing in giving them employment at liberal wages. The Oneida Community some months ago made a showing from which it appears that "the number of hired workmen employed by that body in 1876 was about the same as the number of members constituting the Community, and that the amount of money paid to these outside workmen during the year was nearly the same as that resulting to the Community as the profits from its productive businesses." For such a body of people to shut themselves up from the world and hire no one, would be accounted a selfish, illiberal way to do. The working-men would then have cause to complain. But as it is, they first do their own proper share toward equalizing all classes and providing for those who otherwise would be poor, and then they help the world's poor with half their increase. F. W. S.

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES.

POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE AND OF CONTRAST.

I.

IN this review the two Communities under the presidency of Dr. Keil (Aurora and Bethel) will be considered as one, as also the two Perfectionist Communities (Oneida and Wallingford), the two Communities of Respirationists (one at Brocton, N. Y., and one in California), the seven villages of Amana, and the fifty or more Shaker Communities. After this condensation there will remain eight Communities, the youngest of which has existed for several years, and all of which have attained to considerable magnitude.

NATIONALITY.

Four of them—Amana, Zoar, Economy and Aurora-Bethel—are almost entirely German; one—Icaria—is French with the exception of perhaps half-a-dozen members, representing almost as many other nationalities: one—the Perfectionists—is almost entirely American—the few exceptions being English; one—the Respirationists—is principally American and English, having, however, a few Japanese; the Shakers are also chiefly American and English, with a few representatives of African and other races.

ORIGIN.

Their predominant nationality generally indicates their origin. Amana, Zoar and Economy are of unquestionable German origin; Aurora-Bethel had a Prussian for its founder, but he gathered his followers entirely in America, so that it may be called German-American in its origin; Icaria is of French origin; the Respirationists had for their founder an Americanized Englishman, T. L. Harris, and may be pronounced of American-English origin; the Shakers had for their leader in religion an English woman—Ann Lee—and for their leader in social organization an American—Joseph Meacham—and so may be said to have had an Anglo-American origin: the Perfectionists are of American origin both as a religious body and as a Community.

PERSONNEL.

The Communities are mainly composed of the medium classes of society, but include many men and women of marked ability. Their founders and leaders have generally been persons of superior intelligence. All accounts agree that the founder of the Harmony Society, George Rapp, and his adopted son, Frederick Rapp, were men of culture as well as administrative talent, and their successors have been men of like stamp. The Shaker leaders—their ministers, elders and trustees—are more

than common people. The founder of the Respirationists is a man of varied attainments, and his chief associate is described as an accomplished scholar and author who has filled several positions of official trust under the English government, and the society includes half-a-dozen representatives of the learned professions. The founder of the Perfectionists was thoroughly educated at the Colleges and Theological Seminaries of New England, and this Community includes several doctors, lawyers, clergyman, editors, etc. Some of its members are allied to families representing the best standard of American culture.

RELIGION BEFORE COMMUNISM.

With the exception of Icaria, which may be classed as non-religious in the common acceptation of the term, all these Communities grew out of religious sects; *i. e.*, the original members were known as religionists holding special doctrines before they assumed any Community organization; and all claimed to have discovered new truths in advance of the more orthodox churches around them. Moreover, several of them were the direct fruits of revivals. The Perfectionists trace their origin to the great revival which forty-five years ago swept over this country, stirring the nation and calling the churches as well as sinners to repentance. Nearly every Shaker Community was born of a revival, beginning with Mt. Lebanon in New York, where "the people were wonderfully exercised in body and soul. Some under a deep conviction of their sins cried for mercy: others felt unspeakably happy in the joyful visions and revelations of the glory of the latter day, and of the commencement of the Kingdom of Christ upon earth." At that time Ann Lee and her few followers lived "in an obscure corner of the wilderness" near the present location of the Watervliet Society. They were sought out by the more earnest revivalists "from Mt. Lebanon and the country around," and accepted by many as appointed leaders of the revival movement. The "Compendium" of Shaker principles and history assures us that "the preliminary spiritual and religious operations that preceded the organization of the Shaker Society at Mt. Lebanon fairly illustrated the manner in which all the succeeding societies originated and have been founded." Thus the great Western Societies followed and were the direct fruits of the "Kentucky revival," which was wide-spread and attended with the most astonishing external manifestations. The Shakers, hearing of this remarkable movement sent out three messengers in 1805, who made a pedestrian journey of more than a thousand miles, and arriving at their destination took part immediately in the revival, and "gathered together in order" the Societies of Union Village in Ohio and South Union and Pleasant Hill in Kentucky.

The movements which gave birth to the Harmonists of Economy, the Separatists of Zoar, and the Inspirationists of Amana, were also revivalistic in character. That is, they all had for their primary object the attainment of a higher Christian life, and were accompanied with manifestations that were to those engaged in them such evident tokens of the Holy Spirit, that they were filled with religious fervor, and counted as "light afflictions" imprisonment, exile and all manner of persecution.

Not only were most of the original members of these Communities religionists, but the adoption by them of Communism was not foreseen when they embraced the religious views lying at the base of these organizations. Thus Elder Lomas says of the first colony of Shakers in this country—"It was for years, at Watervliet, the practice of its first inhabitants to live in little habitations scattered over the then rented estate, or patent lands of the Van Rensselaers;" and it was not until after the death of Mother Ann and her first successor, Elder Whittaker, that the Shakers, under Elder Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, adopted practical Communism. Their separation from the world and of the sexes among themselves must have suggested the importance of such Communistic institutions and regulations as they have adopted. The Zoarites had no thought of Communistic life when they emigrated to this country, and lived at Zoar a year or more under the old system of individual property; they adopted Communism because they saw that only by so doing could they pay for their land and keep their society together. The Inspirationists of Amana had maintained their religious unity in the Old World for more than a century before they advanced into Communism, which system they did not intend to adopt upon their first settlement in the United States; but they were commanded, as they believe by inspiration, to enter into Communism; and now they acknowledge they could not otherwise have prospered. The Harmonists did not practice Communism in Germany, nor in this country until six months after their arrival. The Perfectionists held individual property for years after they began their first settlement in Putney, Vt., before the organization of Oneida and Wallingford.

(To be continued).

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

II.

THE LABORER DIVORCED FROM THE LAND.

HEALTH and happiness are dependent upon the product of the soil. Land is therefore one of the most essential agencies in human sustenance and welfare. But the relations of labor to land and capital have in past ages been unsatisfactory, a constant source of anxiety to the laborer, and a temptation to the grasping acquisitiveness of the selfish, the wealthy and the powerful. Unequal possessions of the soil have from the earliest historic periods been the cause of misery, wretchedness, and discontent, and ultimately of revolutions. Like causes originate the like results, and history will yet have to record other changes and revolutions, unless a solution be found. A glance at the past may give a lesson as to the future.

At a time when all the known world paid homage to Rome represented by the Senate and the aristocracy, the people were becoming divorced from the land, impoverished and dependent. The Roman soldier, passing his life in foreign countries, had no land to cultivate, nor any other domestic gods than the eagles at the head of the legions. Italy sent her sons to die in distant lands, and received in exchange thousands of her vanquished enemies, who, as slaves, cultivated the soil for their masters, and enriched it by their labor and their ashes.

The slaves—like the agricultural laborers of to-day—were viewed merely as "hands;" not persons, but things. In the course of time the plebeians were gone. They had left their bones on every shore of every known land. Camps, urns, hypocausts, magnificent roads, and ruins were all that remained of them. The slaves and their masters were left. Occasionally the former were enfranchised on condition that they should never marry. But in the course of time they took the place of their masters, and proudly occupied the Forum. The speech of a centurion shows how closely allied were the conditions of the people of Italy and the farm laborers of the present day, with their cottage and single acre:—"Romans," said the plebeian soldier, "my name is Spudius Ligustinus. I am of the Crustuminian tribe, and of a family originally Sabine. My father left me one acre of land and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated and where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty, except indeed a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We had six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons four are grown up, the other two are boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedonia, I served as a common soldier against Philip two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flaminius, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the 10th company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer, with the Consul Marcus Porcius, into Spain. * * * Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honored by my companions with presents for good behavior. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am upwards of fifty years of age."

A plebeian soldier who devoted twenty-two years of his life to the army and foreign service could not spend much time in cultivation of his single acre of ground. The rich citizens monopolized the far larger portions of uncultivated lands, conquered from their opponents or enemies, and gradually acquired, by fair means or foul, the little holdings of their poor neighbors. The land, the flocks and herds upon them were remitted to the care of slaves; the freemen were called away upon military service; the slaves who were not to bear arms multiplied greatly; the great landowners became very rich, while the free population diminished through physical misery, exactions, and military service. The danger was seen, but the remedy was difficult.

Independently of the rapid consumption of men by war, the constitution of Rome caused misery and depopulation. A monied aristocracy ruled; but without trade and the reproduction of wealth, the rulers had to depend on spoliation or robbery under the name of war and conquest. The real power was in the hands of an army of landholders, who increased their domains by plunder or by cajoling their clients. By degrees the lands became the property of a wealthy class who ceased to pay rent for it to the state. Grazing, as in Ireland, was less troublesome and more profitable than tillage, while slaves were less feared than freemen. In the absence of tillage, corn had to be brought from Sicily and other countries. A law had, with much difficulty, been obtained, prohibiting one person from possessing more than 500 acres of land and 100 head of large and 50 of small cattle. The rich, however, contravened and ignored the law, and neither paid for public lands enjoyed without right of possession, nor the *res mancipi*, or tax. The laws of Cato, which aimed at luxury, were meant to equalize taxation. He at the close of his life held that pastures were the best possessions. The hand of a free man was not necessary to guide the flocks, and a slave would be more servile. The plebeian freeman, expelled from the land, could no longer remain there; he sought refuge in the towns, and had to beg for sustenance from those who expelled him; waiting, as in the present day, to emigrate to a new colony, or die as a pauper.

Attempts were afterward made to restore the lands to the people and revive the love of labor. It was too late; slavery and servility had generated weakness and an absence of patriotism, and hence the Romans became an easy prey to the Goths and Vandals.

When Rome could no longer govern the world by the swords of her legions, she ruled it with texts—canon law and civil law. The people were swayed by their fears or their dread of augurs. Legitimacy and authority ruled by written decrees, till thoughtful men began to interrogate history.

FORCE AND FEUDALISM.

The records of succeeding periods, down to that of the feudal barons, tell of force seizing the lands of strangers; and of wealth and riches increasing with the few, while they ruled over superstitious, impoverished, and landless serfs, thralls, and villeins, until the sufferings of the people, under the grasping selfishness and luxury of the French *noblesse*, forced them to seek a remedy for their wretchedness, which ended in a revolution and a reign of terror. The massacre of more than a thousand persons in a thousand hours was a savage revenge which awakened a wild "shriek of inarticulate horror" over all Europe, and the landholders of England, dreading the fate of the French landholders, aroused a war-cry against their supposed enemies to force them to submit to the government and dynasty they detested. Napoleon gaining the ruling military power, the aristocracy and landlords of this country kept up the excited dread of a French invasion. The cause of the French revolution was thus lost to view in the horror felt at the means adopted to correct the social evils existing in the degraded condition of the people by their separation from the land. The French in their lack of knowledge subdivided the land with all its wasteful consequences.

The Government of the day led the people into the land-owners' war with headlong fury which, while successfully destroying the men and material of the opposing forces, failed, utterly failed, in all its objects, leaving an enormous national debt which will long remain an impediment to the progress of the nation. Men and material had been absorbed by the long period of the war fever.

SURPLUS PRODUCTION AND SURPLUS POPULATION.

During the war there was a great demand for soldiers in the prime of life to fight and die while destroying their opponents and the war material of the French, which gave a great stimulus to trade. The war was a great and extravagant customer to farmers and manufacturers. Every thing saleable had reached war prices. The last yearly expenditure for the war was £130,000,000 sterling.

The absorption of hands and the great demand for manufactured goods led men of inventive skill to devise mechanical and chemical agencies to facilitate production. A new element was thus brought more prominently into action; an element that will ultimately effect a greater revolution in social ameliorations than any humanity has yet known. Inventive genius, aided by machinery, had gone on producing while peace put an end to wasteful destruction. Prices fell and goods could not be sold. Barns and farm-yards were full, and warehouses were well stocked with goods. Economy in production was necessitated. Demand ceased while productive power had vastly increased. A surplus of

stocks led to the mystifying illusion and cry of a redundant population. A tax on corn intensified and increased the sufferings of the poor, and embarrassed the trading and manufacturing interests. The weavers of Manchester had, through competition, been reduced to threepence per day for twelve hours' work. Destitution began to utter loud expressions of discontent; while the Government of the day knew no more effective measures for relieving distress than by repression, transportation, and execution. The true remedy, beyond the scope and comprehension of the mere politician, was evident in the condition of the laborer divorced from the soil, who must, as at the present time, either emigrate or look forward to the workhouse as a refuge in misfortune and declining years.

The remedy for the evils inseparable from the present conditions of life lies in another direction. How the problem may be solved will be shown and illustrated by events and experiments in relation to land, labor, and capital; and the value of the facts will consist in their reality, truth and suggestive force.

(*To be continued*).

*PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA.**

IV.

The Village Commune has its opponents in Russia, who hold that the system should either be abolished, or restricted and controlled by some outside agency. Two projects are advocated by such persons: one is, that the Communal land should be divided among the different households, and become their private property, and the other, that the Commune shall be for the present preserved, but that its action shall be regulated by legislative enactments. Mr. Wallace thinks that neither of these schemes would at all improve the present situation, but quite the reverse, and comments as follows:

"Both of these projects seem to me a mistake. The summary abolition of Communal property would produce an economic revolution, in comparison with which the Emancipation of the serfs would sink into insignificance; and this revolution I consider, for the reasons above stated, to be at present unnecessary. I do not share the views of those who believe that the Commune will forever prevent the formation of the proletariate, much less the wild dreams of those who see in it a panacea for nearly all social evils. On the contrary, I believe that the periodical re-distribution of the land, which constitutes at present its most essential characteristic, will probably disappear. But it would be a grave error to effect suddenly and violently what will be effected gradually by the natural course of events. In this matter the peasants are the only competent judges, for they alone have a practical acquaintance with the working of the institution, and among them there are almost no Abolitionists. Every Commune has already the right to divide its land into lots, and to transfer irrevocably a lot to each family; but very few Communes, except those which received 'the orphan's portion,' have as yet shown any disposition to use this privilege.

"The proposal to regulate the action of the Commune by legislative enactments is, I think, scarcely less objectionable. No doubt the time will come when the traditional conceptions which at present regulate that action will no longer suffice, and it will be necessary to supplement the custom-law by positive legislation. But this time has not yet arrived. The institution has still vitality enough to be in no need of extraneous guidance. It understands its own interests a great deal better than those who desire to legislate for it; and it is quite capable of making, in its constitution and mode of action, any modification which its interest may demand. That it should be an eyesore to genuine bureaucrats is intelligible enough, for it is the only institution in Russia which has hitherto escaped the blighting influence of administrative pupilage—the only institution which has genuine, spontaneous, independent life in it, and does not require to draw galvanic vitality from the central authority; but it is strange to see men, who imagine that they are partisans of self-government, doing all in their power to destroy the sole piece of real self-government which exists in the country. All the other organs of self-government in Russia are more or less artificial and ornamental, and the power which created them might at once demolish them without producing any serious perturbation: the Commune alone has deep roots in the traditions, the habits, and the every-day interests of the people. Again, I say the peasants are the most competent judges in this matter, and they have urgent reason to pray Heaven to protect them against their friends and self-constituted advocates."

There is another class of critics in Russia, who think that the peasants are prevented from improving their condition by the taxes which the government imposes upon them, and that the best remedy is a radical reform of the Russian system of taxation. Mr. Wallace finds that the average tax paid by each peasant family in Russia is equivalent to about fifteen dollars per annum, of our money. This includes both local and governmental taxes, but does not include the yearly dues paid for the use of the land. In relation to these he says:

"The land dues can not properly be called taxes, for the peasant receives in return for them the usufruct of a certain quantity of land; but it must be admitted that they have something of the nature of taxes, for they were not fixed by voluntary contract, but were imposed upon the peasantry, together with the land, without their consent. In some parts of the country, as I have already explained, this 'imposition' is a privilege; in others it is a burden. In the former—that is to say, in those localities where the normal rent exceeds the dues—the peasant may liberate himself from the dues by giving up the land; in the latter—that is to say, where the dues exceed the normal rent—he can not liberate himself in this way, for neither the Commune nor any of the individual members would voluntarily accept his land on such conditions. We may therefore fairly regard as taxation the part of the dues which remains after we have subtracted the normal rent of the land. If, for example, we find that a peasant pays for his share of the Communal land eighteen roubles, whilst ten roubles would be a fair rent for it, we may fairly regard the remaining eight roubles as pure taxation.

"Now as a rule, it may be said that in the Southern Agricultural Zone this excess does not exist. The land is really worth more than the dues paid for it, and they therefore can not be regarded as taxes at all. If the peasant wishes to free himself from them he has no difficulty in handing over his land to the Commune, or to some one of the individual members. In the Northern Agricultural Zone, on the contrary, there are few localities in which the peasant can thus liberate himself from the dues, for they are almost always in excess of the normal rent, and we must therefore regard a considerable part of them as taxation. If, now, this part of the dues be added to the taxes properly so called, it forms a large sum—a sum too heavy to be borne by peasants who live by agriculture alone. So long as it has to be paid yearly these peasants have no possibility of improving their condition. Nay, more, their condition is evidently becoming worse, for the official statistics show that the number of cattle in these regions is decreasing, and we know that decrease of cattle means less manure and less abundant harvests.

"Thus there is a certain amount of truth in the assertion that inordinate taxation is one of the chief obstacles with which the peasant has to contend—especially in the Northern Agricultural Zone—but is there not some more general cause at work affecting all regions alike? some peculiarity in the actual economic position of the peasants, which places a formidable obstacle in the way of progress? I believe there is, and I shall now endeavor to explain it.

"In the time of serfage the peasant families, as I have already remarked, were generally very large. They remained undivided, partly from the influence of patriarchal conceptions, but chiefly because the proprietors, perceiving the economic advantage of large families, prevented them from breaking up into independent units. As soon as the proprietor's authority was removed, the process of disintegration began and spread rapidly. Every one wished to be independent, and in a very short time nearly every able-bodied married peasant had a house of his own. The influence of this on the Communal self-government I have already pointed out; its influence on the economic position of the peasantry was still more injurious. The building and keeping up of two or three houses instead of one necessarily entailed a large amount of extra expenditure. It must be remembered, too, that many a disaster which may be successfully resisted by a large family inevitably ruins a small one. But this is not the worst. To understand fully the injurious influence of this breaking up of families, we must consider the fact in conjunction with the Emancipation Law.

"The Emancipation Law did not confer on the peasants as much land as they require, and consequently the peasant who has merely his legal portion has neither enough of work nor enough of revenue. If the family were large this difficulty would be easily overcome. One member, with the help of his wife and sisters-in-law, and with the additional assistance of a hired laborer during the harvest-time, might cultivate the whole of the family land, whilst the other members sought occupation elsewhere, and sent or brought home money to pay the taxes and meet the necessary pecuniary outlay. When each able-bodied man is head of an independent household, this form of domestic economy is of course impossible. Each head of a household is obliged either to remain at home or to intrust the cultivation of his share of the land to his wife. In the former case he has a great deal of idle time on his hands, unless he can rent land at a moderate price in the immediate vicinity; and in the latter case the harvests are pretty sure to be meager, for a woman can rarely cultivate as well as a man, even when she has no domestic duties to attend to. In many localities the necessity of obtaining arable land in the immediate vicinity of the villages compels the peasants to pay what may fairly be termed 'rack-rents.'"

Mr. Wallace's conclusions regarding the effect of serfemancipation are, that as serfdom was not an unmitigated evil, so emancipation has not been an unqualified blessing. And as the mitigating feature of serfdom was the large-family system, so the loss of this since emancipation has prevented many of the resulting ameliorations which would otherwise have followed. In other words, serfdom, with Communism, is about as tolerable as emancipation without, and this is the *morale* of Mr. Wallace's very careful and candid examination of the matter; to which must be added, the inference one can not fail to draw from his premises, that the partial communism which still remains is the one thing which more than any thing else exercises a beneficent influence on the fortunes of the Russian peasantry.

*Russia; by D. Mackenzie Wallace: London, 1877.

CORRESPONDENCE.

———, *Pa., Aug.* 20, 1877.

Editor American Socialist:—

We are much pleased with your paper and wish to continue our reading of it as long as we are able to do so; but times are hard, and my husband has met with many losses and misfortunes, the last of which was sickness, so that he has not been able to work for several months past. We are Communists at heart, but there seems to be no chance, as yet, of our becoming associated with any Community. We were intending if the Potomac Colony had started last Spring to have joined them. I am sick at heart with this conflict (for the means to live) against selfishness and dishonesty, treachery and hypocrisy which we meet at every step, and are obliged to contend with. Work, be it ever so hard, is nothing but a pleasure if we could but trust those around us—could feel that they were

"almost what they seem;
That friendship was no name, and happiness no dream."

I wish and pray, but scarcely hope, for some great, radical social change to sweep over our land to purify and regenerate it. That your excellent paper, if universally read, would help to bring about such a change, I am fully convinced. Respectfully,

MRS. L. T. R. A.

Black River Falls, Wis., Aug. 21, 1877.

Editor American Socialist:—In your paper of June 14th, you publish a letter from J. G. Truman proposing to organize an Association for the study and improvement of Society. Ever since the appearance of that letter I have looked anxiously for others to come forward and assist to give effect to that eminently practical thought. Others have not come! I therefore rise to second the motion of friend Truman; and will ask that a committee be now appointed, consisting of Messrs. J. G. Truman, F. Wayland-Smith, G. E. Tufts, and such others as they may select, to draft articles of Association, arrange the terms of membership, receive names of members and such contributions as may be offered; and to conduct the organization until it can elect officers and discharge the committee.

Will these gentlemen confer together and move at once in this matter? The times are now ripe for the work. The coming winter, though following an abundant harvest, will be freighted with an amount of pauperism and suffering such as America has never known. The great heart of our people will be moved; and questions that have been looked upon as merely metaphysical will be felt to be vital, and will demand a speedy solution.

Let then those who regard the *practical recognition of the Brotherhood of humanity* as the true remedy for the evils that are upon us, now organize for a united movement. Let them set forth distinctly a Declaration of Rights based upon the Golden Rule and the two Great Commandments; and let them "*do, and teach them.*" And while thousands are abandoning a long-cherished individualism, and combining to organize colossal schemes of plunder, let those, already becoming their victims, prepare for mutual protection. At least let them organize a school of thought and inquiry, and endeavor to learn more of the true relations of man to man. Let them not stop to count the cost of labor or of money! This is a work of humanity, and he who gives to it his best thought and most earnest effort will be written "as one who loves his fellow men."

Yours with
"Generous trust in human kind,"
E. S. Wicklin.

Hudson, Ohio, Aug. 22, 1877.

Editor American Socialist:—I sometimes get into discussion with persons who are very much opposed to Communism, and they assure me the same evils will exist inside Community as exist on this side the fence, and far more of them. You will much oblige, therefore,

if in your paper you answer the followiug questions:

How many drunkards are there in your Community, who make it dangerous for others to walk the streets or to remain in the house?

How many of your Community tramp the country, begging and stealing wherever they go?

How many police officers do you have to maintain in your Community for the purpose of keeping the rest of you in order?

How many horse-thieves have you?

Have you any temptations in your Community for children to destroy their parents for the purpose of becoming possessed of their property? Such temptations are numerous on this side the fence, and many there are who yield. RICHARD FOSTER.

[These are what you might call boomerang questions. They are ostensibly fired at Communism, but they shy around and whistle close to the ears of common society, which has become so accustomed to the presence of scamps watched by the police, that it no longer seems very horrible to them. Another of our correspondents writes us this week that he was attacked on the subject of Communism by a zealous but uninformed man, and that he found no difficulty in "demolishing him" by a few pointed questions of this kind, concerning what is called "respectable society." It is one thing to attack Communism, and quite another thing to defend existing social evils and crimes.—ED. AM. SO.]

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 30, 1877.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* says: "The long-talked-of plan of heating a city by steam, generated at one or more points, and distributed by pipes, is at length about to be practically tried at Lockport, New York, where boilers and boiler-houses are now erected. The working of this new system will be watched with interest. The inventor estimates that the saving to each householder will be from thirty-three to fifty per cent. of the present expense for stoves, coal, etc." This is a movement in the right direction. The individual houses of large cities have long been supplied with water and gas in this general way to the great advantage and convenience of their occupants; and why not with heat? This effected, the next step will be to supply families with food from common centers, already cooked and prepared for the table, thus doing away with the necessity of stoves altogether; and thus we go marching on, step by step, from the isolation of the past to the grand unity of the future.

WASTING HUMAN LIFE.

THE merciless character of competism is well shown in the following array of figures giving the loss of life in the merchant marine of the United States and Great Britain. And when we learn that the greater part of these losses are from *preventable* causes, the picture is indeed a sad one. The universal lust for the rapid acquirement of wealth, together with the fierce struggle among the poor for actual subsistence, lead men into accepting risks which result in enormous losses of life and property. Vessels are overloaded, overcrowded, manned by insufficient crews, or commanded by incompetents. Ships are sent on long voyages, *with the expectation* that they will go to pieces in mid ocean. Cargoes of dangerous explosives are sent off, and nothing ever heard from either ship, cargo, or crew. In the rivalry of trade almost any risk is taken by ship owners and masters provided they can see a pecuniary profit in the end, let the losses to men and ships be what they may. Here is what Supervising Surgeon-General Woodworth of the U. S. Marine Hospital says:

"The waste of human life is every-where. After the waste by war, in no field of human activity is it more strikingly illustrated than among the toilers of the sea. Every year brings its measure of disasters on the sea, seemingly with as much regularity as the seasons follow in the march of time. During the year 1875, 1,502 American vessels are reported to have suffered disaster; adding to this number the 85 casualties to foreign vessels on our shores, gives a total of 1587. Of this number 477 vessels collided and 209 casualties were admitted to have arisen directly from carelessness or ignorance. Three hundred and twelve vessels, aggregating a tonnage of 102,512 tons, and valued, with their cargoes, at upward of ten million of dollars, were wrecks involving a total loss. The number of lives imperiled in these disasters was 20,215 and 888 lives were lost, besides 73 persons drowned where no other casualty occurred to the vessel.

"One hundred and fifty vessels were reported to the British Board of trade in the year 1873—4 as not heard from after sailing or being spoken at sea. All of these are supposed to have gone down with the 2,381 persons on board. Including these missing vessels there were reported to the same authority, in the same year, 6,084 vessels as having suffered wreck, collision or other casualty, resulting in the total loss of 1,411 vessels and 6,817 lives During the ten years ending June 30th, 1874, there were 22,098 wrecks, collisions and other casualties of vessels reported as having occurred on or near the coast of the British Isles alone. Over 25 per cent. of this number were total wrecks, involving a loss of over 8,200 lives and the value of about $90,000,000 in property. With such a startling array of facts, it is no wonder that the appeal of Samuel Plimsoll has been heard around the world.

"No thoughtful person will doubt that a large proportion of these causalties were preventable. They result chiefly from the use of unseaworthy vessels, from the lack of the necessary amount of force, by reason of short crews and unseaworthy sailors; from over loading, or from ignorance, inattention or recklessness of officers. Exact statistics giving the causes of loss of vessels and life are only attainable in a small proportion of the total number involved."

THE PERSONAL EQUATION.

T. F. BROWNELL has an interesting article in the September No. of the *Popular Science Monthly* on the question, "Does it take time to think?" in which he shows that personal characteristics are a source of constant error in astronomical and other observations requiring great accuracy. Mr. Kinnebrook was in 1795 discharged from his position as assistant to Maskelyne, the Royal Astronomer of England, though a trained and skillful observer of long experience, because his observations were recorded about four-fifths of a second too late. "All attempts by Mr. Kinnebrook to account for or to remedy what he deemed his faults were in vain." Since then astronomers have come to recognize the fact "that the personal element enters into all work, and especially into a class of labor so difficult as that of recording fractions of a second or hundredths of an inch;" and Mr. Kinnebrook's observations are now relied upon as much as those of the Royal Astronomer who discharged him. In such observations and records the personal equation is made up of the time it takes to think and to record, which is always appreciable even when the means of record are the simplest, like touching a button, and it is found to differ with different persons for the same class of events, and with the same persons for events of different classes. By numerous experiments it has been proved that "the error would appear in each experiment and always to the same amount." This personal equation is found to exist for the sense of hearing and of touch as well as of sight.

Does not the personal equation enter into every action of the mind? and ought it not to be allowed for in all cases where the exact truth is desired? One man has large benevolence, while another has a small development in this respect; let the two men discuss some question touching human suffering or deprivation, and they are very likely to see the matter differently, and each to be inclined to that view which is most in accordance with his own character. Take two men—one with large conscientiousness and the other with small—and let them discuss some question of morality, and you will speedily discover a personal equation on both sides. And so will the personal equation appear in a hundred other instances that might be cited. Herbert Spencer in his "Study of Sociology" shows how very difficult it is for men to fairly consider questions of Social Science, because they are so liable to be warped by their trades and professions and the interests of the special classes of society to which they belong.

The secret of social harmony and social progress evidently lies, first, in making due allowance for the personal equation, and second, in reducing it to the minimum. Many a small home is rendered inharmonic, simply because its members do not take pains to understand and make due allowances for the personal equations or personal characteristics of one another; and no large family or Community can be happy unless there is both a general appreciation of the necessity of making allowance for personal peculiarities, and also some effectual means of modifying them, at least so far as they are offensive and proceed from causes that may be removed.

Here comes in the value of the system of Mutual Criticism practiced in some of the Communities—a system of frank truth-telling in love that supplants evil-speaking, which only increases objectionable equations of this sort. Egotism, combativeness, inquisitiveness, secretiveness, acquisitiveness, and other elements of character, may be so modified as to cease to be sources of annoyance and general discomfort, by simply bringing to bear upon them the truth in the spirit of love and forbearance.

But in order to make allowance for the personal equation which is likely to bias the opinions and conduct of all more or less, and also to submit to the means we have described for modifying our personal peculiarities in the interests of harmony, there is required the spirit of charity so beautifully described in the 13th chapter of 1st Corinthians; the spirit that "seeketh not its own, and is not easily provoked;" that is free from envy and pride, and rejoiceth in the truth. We know of no way of securing a happy home, be it small or large, without this spirit.

THE CENTER OF SOCIALISM.

IT seems to me that the question of Socialism—the getting of a better, a true and perfect order of society—is a very simple one. It is not a question of abstract laws, of profound formulas, of endless speculation, of vast or intricate scientific exposition and legislation. It is simply a question of Life and Love. These are old and familiar household words, the sweetest and dearest the language holds, but they have in them the secret of all possible social growth, of all perfection of social order. What is it makes the ordinary family? It is male and female life controlled by love. Two living hearts hungering for life's perfect satisfaction—fellowship, communism—seek it in each other, and out of their love the unity of the family is born. Sons and daughters spring forth around the original pair, united to them by a common family love. Present society is made up of an aggregation of little family circles, originating and growing up in this way.

Now to make an order of society possible and natural, in which universal unity shall take the place of and absorb fractional family unities, it is simply necessary to change the action of male and female life, and give a new direction to that mode of motion through which living hearts find fellowship—Love. A common center of life and love must be found in which all hearts can meet, and which will fill all hearts with the satisfaction of a fellowship incomparably greater, sweeter, and more enduring than the simplistic, fractional fellowship which organizes the ordinary family, and makes selfish society. It is love alone that can satisfy human hearts; without it they die. If then it can be shown to men and women that there is a common center of life and love, a living fountain of love, exhaustless, ever enlarging with countless involutions of joy, in which, by turning to it their common attention, they may find the satisfaction of immeasurable fellowship, will they not seek it with all the strength of their souls? Will they not seek it as the thirsty and hungry traveler of Sahara would seek the fountains and fruits of Eden?

The first work then to be done in Socialism, it seems to me, is to find such a living, organic center, and proclaim it to men; the second work, is to correct the action of human hearts by turning their attention away from each other, to this center. This done, and up from out the selfish, competive, fractional society of the present will come, in the strength of eternal growth, a social order worthy of human nature and akin to heaven—a social order in which Life and Love will have their perfect manifestation.

This is not a new idea, nor a new conception of Socialism. It is simply the method announced and adopted by Jesus Christ, eighteen hundred years ago. He gave it to the world, and in doing so he proved himself the greatest Social Reformer the world has known. He illustrated it in his own life; he taught it to his disciples; he died to implant it in human hearts. Pouring it forth in spirit upon the world he founded the Community of Pentecost and of the Apostolic Church. In these new hours of nineteenth-century Socialism, then, when the foundations of the social deep are breaking up, and men and women are crying out, What shall we do to be saved? we have simply to go back to Jesus Christ and learn of him. We have simply to go back to him, and find him, not as sectarian theology presents him, not as self-styled Christian churches think of him, but as he is presented in the New Testament, and as he lives and works to-day in the spiritual world. As we find him in the New Testament he offered himself to mankind as a center of life and love. He proposed to men and women that they turn away from direct attention to and love of each other, and take himself into their hearts, as their personal lover and savior; promising that he would dwell in them and teach them how to love the Lord their God with all their hearts, and their neighbor as themselves—an attainment which the

ages had waited for, which the law of Moses and the law of nature demanded, but which men had failed of hitherto. Not as a warrior mailed came he, not as the monarch of conquering legions. He came as a conqueror of the hearts of men and women—as the King of unity and love. Hence he was to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness, but unto those who received him a spiritual and social savior. No immense system of intellectual speculation offered he, but something as sweet and simple as the odor of a Galilean flower, as strong and winning and magnetic as affection's thrill in the heart. Hear him: "If any man love me he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you: continue ye in my love." "This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you." "The Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and believed that I came out from God." Here is Socialism founded on Eternal Life and Eternal Love. Here is a social order linked in an endless chain thus: Love of Christ for the Father, and of the Father for Christ; love of men and women for Christ, and love of Christ for them; love of men and women for one another, growing out of their love for Christ and the Father and the commanding influence of the love of Christ and the Father for them. See how its climax of interblending unity is described in Christ's prayer for those who believe in him and love him: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one even as we are one; I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and has loved them as thou has loved me."

This is the world's charter of Communism. To this as its last analysis must practical Social Science come. Socialism is life and love organized around and into a living, loving Center. Jesus Christ offers himself to the world as such a center. Where shall we find a better? Does the history of mankind point to one? Are not our highest conceptions of what such a center should be more than fulfilled by the divine hero of the four Gospels? Have we any prophecy or prospect of a better one to come? "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Greater Communism hath no man than this that he dies to make Communism possible among men. Jesus Christ fulfilled both these conditions. If, therefore, he is the greatest Lover and Communist that ever lived, why look for another? A coming man is not needed. The best possible has already come. The ages attest his claims. His Spirit, given to every one who asks for it as freely as the sunshine is given, has brought forth the best results of Socialism the world has seen. Its possibilities of achievement no man has measured or dreamed.

Brother and Sister Socialists:—in view of the needs of Socialism, and as a means of Universal Unity, shall we not rally round Christ as the central, representative Socialist? Shall we not inscribe on our banners as the battle-cry that will lead to more than victory, *Supreme personal love for Jesus Christ, the organizing power of Socialism!* T. L. P.

THE EASTERN FAMINE.

The famine in the East is proving to be a very serious thing. Great numbers of people are actually starving to death. At a public meeting held at Madras, August 4, the following statement was adopted as describing the situation of the people in Southern India: "The severity of the famine is increasing and the distress is great. The rainfall continues insufficient, and a population of 20,000,000 is affected. Great numbers are actually dependent on charity, and in the Madras Presidency alone 1,750,000 persons daily receive assistance. The increased mortality has already reached nearly half a million. The distress is now reaching the better classes, owing to the increased price of grain. The pressure must increase until the crops are gathered in January. The necessity for assistance is most urgent and pressing."

But India is not the only region suffering for lack of food. The following from the London *Pall Mall Gazette* shows that China and other parts of Asia north of India are in terrible distress, their crops having been injured by too much rain, as the others were by drought:

"A Japanese paper, the *Hochi-Tchinbun*, gives a distressing account of the misery at present prevailing in Corea. The famine is described as still continuing, and the miserable Coreans are stated to be dying by thousands from want of food. When a vessel enters the port laden with rice, corn, or provisions of any kind, it is at once surrounded by bands of hungry natives, who endeavor to seize its contents, and blood is frequently shed in keeping them off. Food is, it is true, distributed by the Government to the poor every ten days, on the 10th, 20th, and 30th of each month; but the amount at the disposal of the authorities is utterly insufficient to feed the multitude of supplicants for the means of averting death from starvation. The price of rice and corn is naturally extremely high, and women are obliged to sell their ear-rings, brooches, and other ornaments to procure the means of supporting life. The horrors of disease and pestilence have also been added to those of famine, and the bodies of the dead lie in the streets for days. In the northern provinces of China, also, famine is reported to have set in; but there the Government has greater resources with which to assist the sufferers, and is, it is said, endeavoring to raise a loan of 5,000,000 taels for the purpose."

THE BRADLAUGH-BESANT TRIAL,
OR
THE POPULATION QUESTION.

III.

The opening address of the Solicitor-General for the prosecution finished, there ensued a discussion as to the objectionable parts of the book, which terminated in the Lord Chief Justice saying: "I think you may assume that the learned Solicitor-General objects to the whole book from beginning to end." Mrs. Besant then began her famous defense, which covers 124 pages of the Report. We will endeavor to give our readers the strong points of her argument, while omitting the repetitions which were in place in addressing a jury. Her opening sentences we can not abridge:

"*My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury:*—It will not seem strange to any of you, if, in defending myself here to-day, I find myself slightly over-weighted by the amount of legal ability which the prosecution has thought it well to bring against me. I know that names such as those who stand as advocates against me must carry—and must rightly carry—a certain amount of weight with those to whom I have to appeal. When you find the learned Solicitor-General engaged in the case, and when his great legal knowledge is not enough to conduct it without the assistance of two other counsel learned in the law, you must come to the conclusion that you have two great criminals before you, because, if it were not so, the prosecution would not go into the very large expense entailed in this case. I might feel less hopeful of success did I pretend to rival the learned Solicitor-General in legal knowledge, in force of tongue, or in skill of dialectic. But, gentlemen, I do not rely on these: I rely on a far mightier power; I trust to the goodness of my cause, and I am sure that, when you have heard the evidence which I shall lay before you, you will feel that to give a verdict of 'guilty' would be to give a verdict against the weight of the evidence, and would have a most unfortunate effect upon the public outside. But, gentlemen, I do not mean that I have had the impertinence to come before you without a careful and thorough consideration of the case which I submit. I have spent the few weeks I have had between my arrest and the present time in studying the case I have to set before you. I have done my best during these few weeks which have intervened to make myself acquainted with those trials of the past which bear upon this subject, and those state trials from which I could gather some ideas by which I might move you, or some words which I could use when appealing to you.

"It is not as defendant that I plead to you to-day—not simply as defending myself do I stand here—but I speak as counsel for hundreds of the poor, and it is they for whom I defend this case. My clients are scattered up and down through the length and breadth of the land; I find them amongst the poor, amongst whom I have been so much; I find my clients amongst the fathers, who see their wage ever reducing, and prices ever rising; I find my clients amongst the mothers worn out with over-frequent child-bearing, and with two or three little ones around too young to guard themselves, while they have no time to guard them. It is enough for a woman at home to have the care, the clothing, the training of a large family of young children to look to; but it is a harder task when oftentimes the mother, who should be at home with her little ones, has to go out and work in the fields for wage to feed them when her presence is needed in the house. I find my clients among the little children. Gentlemen, do you know the fate of so many of these children?—the little ones half starved because there is food enough for two but not enough for twelve; half clothed because the mother, no matter what her skill and care, can not clothe them with the money brought home by the bread-winner of the family; brought up in ignorance, and ignorance means pauperism and crime—gentlemen, your happier circumstances have raised you above this suffering, but on you also this question presses; for these over-large families mean also increased poor-rates, which are growing heavier year by year. These poor are my clients, and if I weary you by length of speech, as I fear I may, I do so because I must think of them more even than I think of your time or trouble. You must remember that those for whom I speak are watching throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the verdict you will give. Do you wonder I call them my clients, these poor for whom I plead? they can not bring the fee of gold such as is received by the learned gentlemen who are briefed against me here; but they bring what is better than gold—they send up a few pence week by week out of their scanty wage for as long as the trial lasts; they send up kindly thoughts and words of cheer and of encouragement; mothers who beg me to persist in the course on which I have entered—and at any hazard to myself, at any cost and any risk—they plead to me to save their daughters from the misery they have themselves passed through during the course of their married lives."

The Solicitor-General had said he did not impute bad intent to the defendants in publishing the "Fruits of Philosophy." Mrs. Besant asks, "What bad intent could there be?" She had nothing to gain in publishing the work—she had much to lose. She risked her name, her liberty; and it was not without deep and earnest thought she had entered into this struggle. Then referring to some prejudicial remarks which had been made about her and her co-defendant by the newspapers, and to the fact that the prosecution must be blamed for the great sale which the work in question has recently had (for they have given "a purely factitious importance to an old and almost forgotten pamphlet which had been supplanted by more modern treatises"), she comes to the question of the indictment, which charges her and her co-defendant with "unlawfully and wickedly devising and contriving and intending, as much as in them lay, to vitiate and corrupt the morals as well of youth as of divers other liege subjects of our said lady the Queen, and that to incite, and encourage the said liege subjects to indecent, obscene, unnatural and immoral practices, and bring them to a state of wickedness, lewdness and debauchery," they published a certain book which the indictment goes on to describe in coarse language. Mrs. Besant reasonably complains of the language of the indictment, inasmuch as it is admitted by the prosecution that there was no such wicked intention on the part of the defendants as it alleges; and she urges that if the Solicitor-General wants to accuse her, as he has done, of publishing a bad book with good intent, he ought to amend the indictment so clumsily drawn up. And she proceeds to argue that the malice of the prosecution has over-reached itself; for since no distinction is drawn between one part of the book and the other, the jury must find that the whole of it is obscene before they convict her. Not only so, but the jury must find, she argues, that the object of the defendants in publishing the book was, as stated in the indictment, to "vitiate the morals of youth as of divers others!" The intent of the publishers, whether it is a vital part of the indictment, and whether there can be conviction and judgment unless it be proved, is argued at length on both sides. The substance of Mrs. Besant's argument on this point will be given in our next number.

THE LATEST ENGLISH PLAN.

From an Address by Mr. E. V. Neale, delivered at the last quarterly conference of delegates from Coöperative Societies in Yorkshire, England, on Saturday, Aug. 4th:

"I purpose to-day to dwell especially on one of the fruits of coöperation belonging to its 'economy' in the original sense of the word—whose proper meaning is 'household regulation'—namely, the 'coöperative or associated home;' on which it is the more important to touch because this form of coöperation lies further away from our common life than coöperative trade; and yet, if we consider the matter thoroughly, it is, and must be, the most important part of the whole scheme of coöperative society.

"For, after all, what do the great mass of mankind work for, trade for, or toil and labor for, but for their homes, which bind themselves up by a thousand links with all that forms the charm of their lives, hallowing memory and animating hope? There are a few men, indeed, the most highly gifted of their race—men of inventive genius, artists, poets, philosophers, whose life is in their creative work; as there are men of more stirring dispositions, teachers, orators, statesmen and the like, who live mainly in their action on other men: and yet even for these their home life is often the greenest spot of their existence. But to the body of men who live a human life at all, that life is summed up in home. The work of most of us is a toil which we are glad to get done. True, if it is done thoroughly and honestly it brings its reward in the consciousness and memory of this thoroughness: and true, too, that no work is so fatiguing as idleness—not rest from work, but the absence of any work to do. But with all that, the work that men com-

monly do is, even if it is done in the noblest spirit, not what we care for in itself. That around which our affections naturally twine is our home. If, then, coöperation is to introduce mankind to a higher mode of life than our present one, it must give to the mass of the people better homes. Can it do this? I answer unhesitatingly it can. What do we want in our homes? Look round the outskirts of any of our large and prosperous towns, especially on the west side, where there is least smoke: you will see lines of villas with more or less of garden around them, according to the wealth of their owners; gardens with flowers, ornamental shrubs, handsome trees, neatly-kept lawns; whence vegetables and fruits may be supplied in their freshest condition; these are what the tastes of all the races who inhabit the United Kingdom have pleasure in and provide around their homes where they can. And within the homes girt with these pleasant surroundings what do we find? In proportion to the wealth of the owners, we find their homes divided so as to produce the greatest amount of convenience; dwelling- and sleeping-rooms separated entirely from kitchens and pantries, sculleries and larders; nurseries and schoolrooms separated from sitting-rooms, and those again from dining-rooms—that principle of distinction of office which is of so much value in production and distribution applied here to promote enjoyment. This is the Briton's idea of a home, when he is rich enough to maintain such a home for himself. Can coöperation provide such homes for the body of the population? I answer, it can. But can it provide them without destroying that other charm of independent privacy, which rich and poor among us alike are accustomed to value, and express our value for, in the old maxim, 'An Englishman's house is his castle?' I answer again, it can, if we are content with as much of this independent privacy as we commonly enjoy now. It can secure this much, and even more, without failing to secure the other advantages above alluded to. For to what is this independent privacy limited in the case of the great mass of our population, who live in our vast cities, or even in our country towns and villages? To the control over rooms in a house overlooked by houses on the opposite side of the street, into or out of which no one can come or go without the chance of their movements being spied by any of their opposite neighbors who are curious about them. To this amount of limitation on our independent privacy we habitually submit. The coöperative home, as I imagine it, would not require of us to submit to as much. But what sort of homes, may be asked, do you imagine then? Very much such as exist, and have existed for centuries, within the colleges which constitute the great ornament and boast of our ancient universities, but modified so as to suit the wants of families living in the country, and occupying them permanently, instead of those of young men occupying them temporarily, in towns where they come together for the purpose of education.

"Suppose a group of houses built on a spot where land did not sell by the square foot, so as to form a succession of open courts or squares, of which the center should be gardens; the houses being generally not more than two stories high, with an attic, and stairs between every two, divided so as to make each house distinct, but with doorways arranged so as to allow of their being conveniently used together as one house if desired. Then suppose that the lowest floor of these houses is raised a few steps above the ground; and that beneath them, underground, but lighted at the top by windows opening on the garden-courts, there is a passage with which all these stairs communicate, and itself communicating at convenient intervals with the central courts. Suppose, further, that in each of these passages there is laid down a tramway; and that every house has, communicating with the passage, a space beneath it provided with a lift, by which any desired object of moderate size could be easily drawn up or let down, and a dust-bin to collect all the sweepings of dirt or refuse from the rooms above, through pipes closed by valves weighted so as to keep themselves shut when they are not purposely opened. Lastly, suppose that in these blocks of dwellings are placed, in suitable situations, all the the buildings wanted for the common convenience of the inhabitants—kitchens, sculleries, baths, wash-houses, laundries, nurseries, schoolrooms, stores, restaurants, club-rooms, libraries, etc.,—which would, I imagine, usually be constructed in lines running across the garden-courts, so as to unite the opposite blocks of dwellings.

"I say such coöperative homes would beat our present houses in their privacy and independence; while they brought within the reach of the mass of the people, by the magic wand of association, all those advantages of pleasant surroundings which only the rich can possess under our present system, and only the very rich do possess in the degree of perfection that might be enjoyed by the mass of the population through their coöperation with each other, even if separately they were only as well off as they are now.

"Let us consider these propositions a little in detail:—

"1. As to privacy. Dwellings such as I have supposed would free their occupants from the annoyance of being overlooked, since their rooms would look either on the open country or on spacious courts with central gardens; while the inmates could always go in and out, if they pleased, by the connecting passage, when no one could tell out of which house any one came. Within itself each house would be as distinct as houses commonly are now, with a facility of adding adjoining rooms, if any one desired so to do, which our ordinary house architecture does not offer.

"2. But with this privacy would be combined, in a perfection now found only in large mansions, the separation of the living rooms of the home from all that makes these rooms less pleasant to live in. By means of the lifts and dust-bins and tramways described above, all refuse and dirty things could be regularly taken away at fixed times to the places where they were to be dealt with. Again, meals cooked with all the excellence that good cooking can insure, and the great saving in cost that it can produce where it is an object to save cost, could be brought in covered cars and placed on the table of those who liked to eat in their own houses, as easily as if they had been imperfectly cooked in the rooms where they are to be eaten, as is done now. This would mean, as compared with our present houses, in those cases where the kitchen is distinct from the parlor, two rooms at the cost of one now; and where the kitchen is distinct from the scullery, it would mean the gain of a third room for sitting or sleeping use, instead of only for the use of slops. It would mean also that these sitting-rooms would not only have a pleasant look out, on both sides, on the gardens or fields by which the home would be surrounded, but never need be encumbered with soap-suds or linen being washed or mangled, or hung up to dry. For all this would be done in the part of the coöperative home strictly appropriated for that purpose; where every appliance for doing it in the best and most economical manner would be provided; whither the much-serving lift and tramway would convey the dirty things; and whence they could bring them back clean, without trouble to the housewife; who, however, could herself preside over the tubs containing her washable stuffs—if such were her pleasure—and have at the same time a chat with her neighbors over her work."

(To be Continued.)

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

The Coöperative Societies of Great Britain have proposed to coöperate with the Patrons of Husbandry in international commerce. They also propose to loan money at low rates of interest to the farmers who identify themselves with the Anglo-American Coöperative Company which is now in process of organization.

At a meeting of the Patrons of Husbandry held at Paola, Kansas, Aug. 8th, 1877, the subject was presented by Judge Jones, Master of the National Grange, Mr. Simms, Master of the State Grange, and Mr. Stevens, State Lecturer. The entire State is being canvassed by these gentlemen. The general subject of coöperation was ably discussed. The prosperity of the English Coöperative Societies was recited. The advantages of agreement and combination eloquently portrayed—and compared with the disadvantages of isolation and single-handed effort.

The objects of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry were stated at some length, and although they deny having Communism in view yet when they declare that "in the union of all the industries of the country lies the safety of the nation and the individual," and when they practice what they propose, *viz.*: To "buy together, sell together, work together, eat together and *live* together," they will find that they have built more Communistically than they knew.

Mr. Stevens, State Lecturer, said that there are 300,000 capitalists in the United States and 20,000,000 farmers, who, being the only class without organization, have been the prey of all other organizations. The patrons propose simply to protect themselves, and labor for the unity and development of all industrial classes. While they purpose to combine and fix the prices of their products at not less than the cost of production, they purpose also to give employment to "all the world and the rest of mankind." The lecturer showed conclusively that if the farmers were as prosperous as fair prices for their produce would make them, they would give employment to every idle person in the country at wages that would enable the laborer to improve his condition immensely, even allowing that the cost of necessaries would be increased so as to give the farmer good wages for his productive labor.

There is evidently a great Socialistic revival at work among the Patrons of Husbandry. Dormant Granges are being resuscitated, and State and National Coöperative Societies formed. While they do not discuss party politics they nevertheless give much attention to Government and Political economy, and though they avoid sectarian religion, the worship of God is a subject not beyond their field of inquiry and discussion.

Other societies have organized among capitalists, and become oppressive monopolies. The Patrons of Husbandry propose to work for the benefit of all mankind in harmony with all classes.

The British Coöperatives propose to furnish the bulk of the capital for the Anglo-American Coöperative Company, asking only a small per cent. from the Patrons of Husbandry, simply to show their good faith in the enterprise. The amount necessary to be raised in this country is $125,000. $15,000 of this amount is apportioned to the State of Kansas. One-third of that amount is already subscribed. Shares are held at $5.00 each, payable in installments of $1.00 every thirty days.

The coöperative societies of England who propose this International Coöperation have amassed some wealth, and being obliged to pay five per cent. to the stockholders for stock dividends not drawn out, find themselves with more money on hand than they can profitably invest. Some of their investments in the banks yield them only one and one-half per cent. Hence the new enterprise by which means they expect to furnish the producers of this country with all the capital they immediately need, and also to open direct international commerce whereby the manufactures of England and the surplus produce of America may be interchanged without running the gauntlet of hoards of rapacious middle-men. E. Yoder.

Paola, Kansas, Aug. 9, 1877.

SOCIALISM IN THE SPIRIT WORLD.

In Brooklyn, at Everett Hall, before a large audience, on Sunday evening, Aug. 12, a spirit-lecture, purporting to be from Robert Dale Owen, was delivered through the trance mediumship of Mrs. Cora L. V. Richmond. The lecture was interesting, clear, and able, notably so, and had many features of a genuine production of Robert Dale Owen. The following passage may have an interest for Socialists:

"In one conversation with my father since I passed from earthly to spirit-life concerning the society or association which he first endeavored to form in the Old and then in the New World, I said, 'Is the scheme correct which you formed?' Is it possible for any considerable number of human beings to live together in associative bodies, including their moral and spiritual uplifting?' He said, 'My thought upon earth was only a prophecy; I did not fulfill it because I had not found the true key.' 'What is the true key?' I asked. He said, 'It is spiritual adaptation in classes. I supposed that a community, external interests and a common bond of sympathy in external pursuits, would ultimately unite them spiritually. I find now,' he said, 'that there can be no real community without a base of unity in the spirit, and all associations formed merely for external purposes must fail, excepting in the external sense, while socially and morally and religiously, the world would remain as it is. You will witness,' he said in continuation, 'that those associated bodies bound together by a common religious impulse generally remain steadfast, and though their impulse be not correct, it still is a bond of unity among them. Now,' he said, 'what we intend to do is to pour out upon the world such a flood of spiritual intelligence as to sweep away the barriers of materialism, and bind men together upon the common basis of spiritual welfare.' 'But,' I said, 'that is what the Christian churches have been trying to do for two thousand years. 'Oh, yes,' he said, 'but they have only done it in an exclusive way; what the world wants to-day is not only Christianity, but a religion or a Spiritualism that shall include everybody; and the moment you do this you place all on their proper level, they seek their associations, they become equally as important in the great project of creation the one as the other, and in time, society itself will combine together upon principles not external, but spiritual. If there shall be an association formed,' he said, 'under the direction of spiritual beings, that shall be intelligently carried out, it will combine spiritual with material purposes, and the spiritual will be first. No one will be called upon or expected to join the association who is not practically capable of following the Golden Rule.' 'Well then,' I said, 'you will have to wait until the millennium.' 'Not so,' he said; 'there are many minds upon earth to-day ready to practically demonstrate this; many who are longing for the opportunity, but they can not combine, because of the wide severance in earthly matters. Now let every one of these be summoned to a community or association equally adapted, set aside selfishness, and work together for the whole good, and the problem is solved—the individual is swallowed up in the whole, and yet the individual is not neglected.'"

The Rights of Combination.—Unionism is the form of power which is within reach of the employed, as capital is the form of power in the hands of the employer, and both seem to me to be equally legitimate. The real matter of interest to the community is how, on either side, power, in itself legitimate, is used.—*The Dean of St. Paul's, in the Industrial Review.*

A CO-OPERATIVE SCHOOL LUNCHEON.

THERE is another letter which I must quote because it contains a suggestion:

DEAR LITTLE SCHOOLMA'AM:—Seeing in your last ST. NICHOLAS that you want all the boys and girls to tell you what they take for their lunch, I will tell you that I take *preserves!* Perhaps you will think that a very queer lunch, but the girls have what they call a "spread." Every one brings something. One will bring sandwiches, another cake, another fruit, and so on. Then we spread them all out on a table, and each one helps herself to whatever she likes. I always bring preserves, because mamma's preserves are very highly recommended by all the girls.

With much love to Jack and ST. NICHOLAS—and please keep lots for yourself—I am yours truly,

ROBERTA C. WHITMORE.

You see this is a sort of coöperative luncheon, and for some of you I should think it might prove a good idea. Suppose, for instance, that six girls agreed to arrange their lunch on this principle,—one carrying bread nicely sliced and buttered, one some cold chicken, one a few hard-boiled eggs, with a paper of salt, one a square of fresh gingerbread; another a jar of stewed fruit, with a spoon and some milk-biscuit, and the last a supply of apples or oranges. You see what a substantial and varied luncheon they would have, and yet each mamma would have less trouble than in providing a little of several things for her special child to carry. It might be worth while for some painstaking mothers to try this plan. And if any one makes the experiment, and finds it a good one, be sure to write a line and let us know.

—"*Little Schoolma'am*," *St. Nicholas for Sept.*

MR. GLADSTONE HANDLES THE AX.

From the *Pall Mall Budget.*

Mr. Gladstone was visited at Hawarden Castle on Saturday by the members and friends of the Bolton Liberal Association, numbering about 1,400. He at once gave them permission to see the grounds, but at first declined to address them. Subsequently, however, he informed them that he and his son were about to fell a tree in the park, and he would then reply to any vote of thanks they might wish to propose to him. About four o'clock Mr. Gladstone and his son, clad in rough working suits with slouch hats, proceeded to a large ash tree, about fifteen feet in circumference, at a distant part of the park, and set to work to fell it in presence of the whole body of spectators. Before beginning (says a report in the *Times*) they threw off hat, coat, and neckerchief, till they had on only check shirts and rough light pants, and as the chips flew at the strokes of their axes the admiring excursionists picked up some of the fragments and carefully treasured them as mementoes of their visit. As some relief to the monotony of waiting, the excursionists sang several glees, and, as the ex-Premier paused to breathe awhile, crowds gathered round him with a view to shaking hands. Mr. Gladstone granted the favor to the ladies of the company, but refused it to the men. In one of the pauses Mr. Gladstone complimented the excursionists on their excellent singing. Later on two of the excursionists took the opportunity to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone for their kindness in allowing the use of the park and for their presence on the occasion. Mr. Gladstone replied to the vote, leaning on his ax, and expressed his pleasure at seeing so many persons present enjoying the fresh air and the scenery of the park. He went on to speak at length of the contrast between life in town and country, and said he trusted that the time would come when the contrast would not be so great as now. He referred to the improvements already made in some respects by various Acts of Parliament, but refused to say anything about politics or party matters, to which he was exhorted by several voices in the crowd. Mr. W. H. Gladstone said that though his father had not entered upon any political subject he was sure there were none present but who must feel that it was possible his time might come again. At this remark Mr. Gladstone shook his head. Mrs. Gladstone also addressed a few words to the excursionists, who then departed, and Mr. Gladstone and his son resumed their work.

THE PEOPLE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.—"There is no proof," says the *Scotchman*, "that when properly appealed to, the popular instinct will not respond to economic truth. Mr. Cobden and his associates did not find it impossible to popularize the great conception of free trade to such a degree as to crush, if not to convert, its detractors. Those of us who have not been afraid to speak some plain truth to Trade-Unionists on such elementary themes as the law of supply and demand, and the absurd and cruel socialism of making the bad workman's incapacity the standard of the good workman's reward, have had reason to think that the plain words have not also been vain words. It is a simple fact of history that all the great political advances of the last fifty years have been effected through appeals by clear-sighted and fearless leaders to the people against the classes who, as far as their social advantages were concerned, ought to have known better."

"Mr. Spurgeon is credited with this bit of good advice: "Moreover, brethren, avoid the use of the nose as an organ of speech, for the best authorities are agreed that it is intended to smell with."

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

Which Communism?

The wheat crop is just lovely this year.

William Winter, the poet, is summering in England.

Gold went down to 1.03⅞ t'other day. In August, 1864, it sold for 2.54.

They drink mineral water and trot horses at Saratoga. That is high life.

Duncan C. Ross "Put the heavy stone" 33 feet 6½ inches at Waverly Park, Newark.

President Hayes went to the top of Mount Washington. A clean man on a white mountain.

Miss Eliza E. Bennet lately swam the Hudson from New-York to Hoboken in thirty-five minutes.

The President made lots of little speeches and softened the hearts of Granite State Republicans.

The railroad plank in the Ohio Republican platform is supposed to be a piece of Government timber.

Our President isn't at all horsey, and there is just where he sails above the common herd of prosperous folk.

Senator Blaine invited the President and his party to visit Maine and stop with him, on their return home from Bennington.

The Collectors of Internal Revenue must not have any nepotism about them. Commissioner Raum is going to tell them so.

Two or three batches of daring forgers have just been picked up by the detectives of New York. Can't stop to tell the story.

Two spans of the great iron bridge across the Missouri at Council Bluffs were just knocked off their piers by a cyclone on the 25th.

If you want to have the New York Custom-House cleansed why don't you put a new broom into it? An old broom can't see dirt.

Unbolted wheat flour and Malthus, well believed in, would make a pretty good millennium in this world; and yet I show you a better way.

Alexander H. Stephens has been puzzling himself about the authorship of the *Junius* letters. See his article in the *International Review*.

Donahue was arrested by the Sheriff of Steuben County the instant he was released from Ludlow-st jail. This will delay his becoming the editor of the *Striker*, as he proposes to do.

Vice-Chancellor Van Vliet, of Newark, has sentenced four of the New Jersey Central Railroad strikers to pay a fine of $150 each and be committed to jail till further notice from the court.

There are 100,150,000 people who have a gold and silver monetary standard; there are 223,000,000 who have a gold standard; and 762,750,000 who depend on silver alone. China and India belong to the latter.

Judge Van Brunt, of New York, says, "A man may acknowledge a woman as his wife 500 times, and live with her 500 years—if they both live so long—and that won't make her his wife. No court in this State has ever decided that it would."

George William Curtis thinks that a man who "runs" a country village in the interests of fine music and gives the people Philharmonic concerts, will do more to enhance the values of its real estate than a "practical" man who is full of zeal for new streets and corner lots.

The Commissioners appointed to investigate the New York Custom House have brought in a third report recommending a complete reorganizing of the weigher and gauger's department. The assistant weighers will have to weigh now, and the assistant gaugers will have to gauge.

The Western Union and the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Companies have come to an agreement by which the two are to work together in future and "pool" their gross earnings and divide them, the Western Union taking seven-eighths and the Atlantic and Pacific getting one-eighth. This means higher rates for telegraphing.

You see the workingmen have got votes, and consequently they are not going to be contented till they have tried to doctor the situation. It is all well enough to vote, but they will have to stop marrying and getting children by and by. Don't suppose they ever saw that point. Fact is the editors don't see it any too well, and don't say half enough about it.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have published a third edition of "The Jukes, a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease and Heredity." This book gives the story of "Margaret" and her kin—a bad girl of the early times who gave origin to a numerous race of paupers and criminals. It deals with a subject of the utmost importance to every student of society.

The Grand Army of the Republic has a scheme for the defense of the country. It is to form a cordon of frontier posts, or military settlements, garrisoned and manned by veterans of the late war who shall keep up a military organization and get pay from the Government. In time of service they will be under the command of the regular Army officers.

Mars has two moons. The inner one is only about 4,000 miles from the planet. Its period of revolution is 7 h. 39½ m. Professor Hall's discovery of these satellites was made possible by the late improvements in the defining power of refracting telescopes. The next opportunity to observe the moons of Mars will be in October, 1879. After that the astronomers will have to wait till 1892.

The Indians do not seem to be very much afraid of Gen. Howard. Early in the morning on Monday, the 20th, they made an attack on the camp at Campas Meadows, Idaho, and stampeded a lot of his stock. Their object appears to have been to get cavalry horses. The recapture of the animals was effected after pursuit and an engagement in which one soldier was killed and six wounded.

The late Edwin Forrest was not wholly a mad lion raging with jealousy and combativeness. He was a student and had some great spots of kindness in him. Besides he had a singular height and manliness of character. "An old schoolmate of his, who had become a clergyman, met him one day and asked the favor of a ticket to his performance of 'Lear' that evening, but added that he wished his seat to be in a private box where he could see without being seen. 'No sir,' was the reply by which the player rebuked the preacher; 'when I look at my audience I should feel ashamed to see there one who is ashamed to be seen. Permit me to say, sir, that our acquaintance ends here.' When a mere youth he played, at Albany, second parts to Edmund Kean, for whom he had the highest admiration. After the play a man whom he had always liked said to him, 'Your *Iago* is better than Kean's *Othello*.' Forrest says, 'I never spoke to that man again.'"

Alfred B. Mason, of Chicago, is shouting to the country. He says, "The intelligent Malthusian and the sentimental shrieker against the humane and rational teachings of Malthus, may both well shrink from the fact that to-day, in the United States, the workingman who marries makes a fool of himself. The ruling rate of wages taboos the family. The American artisan is offered his choice between celibacy and want." Hear! Hear!!

The Rev. O. B. Frothingham says in the opening sentences of a late sermon, "It is generally admitted now, by people of all faiths and all shades of faith, that conduct is the test of creed. It was not always so; it is not universally so to-day; for still there are those, multitudes, too, who look on the creed as a passport to felicity hereafter, not as a help to conduct now. These are the inconsiderate and prejudiced who follow the rule of tradition."

The New Haven *Palladium* says, in answer to a question in *The Graphic*, that steamboats were first run from New Haven to New York in 1819. From an old letter written by the Hon. John Noyes, when on his way to Washington as a member of Congress from Vermont, we learn that steamboats were running upon that line as early as Nov. 22, 1815. A steamboat was built on Lake Champlain in 1809—only two years after Fulton's boat on the Hudson.

Mr. Williams, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Maine, accepts the nomination in this exasperating fashion: "Considering the second resolution," he says, "I nowhere find in it any impeachment of the President's title to the high office which he now occupies, and I have no difficulty in according to it my full concurrence. His title, though stoutly contested, was recognized and became valid by the decision of the tribunal which acted under the authority of law."

Congressman Foster, of Ohio, found that his elevator at Fostoria was n't paying at all. "So, five years ago," says he, "I took the men in charge in at what Judge West would call a minimum salary, and for myself a moderate rent on the property, and receipts of profits above these to be divided between them and myself. I have no doubt the result has been beneficial to both parties; but to put such a system into general practice will require a radical change in the characters of the employer and the employed."

FOREIGN.

The Turks have begun to be offensive.

The war in Armenia is only a side-show.

Gen. Grant arrived in London the 25th.

The Montenegrins are still pegging away at Nicsics.

The Russians are beginning to chop wood for next winter in Bulgaria.

Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy are going to have a talk at Gastein.

Mr. Tilden is visiting the ancestral home of the Tildens in Kent, England.

The Turks have a Shaker Pasha; with a harem full of wives we suppose.

The Russians are ill-breaded—the soldiers rioted lately and threw 100,000 mouldy loaves into the Danube.

The Ottoman Empire has half a million Jews; 250,000 of them are in Roumania; and 80,000 in Asiatic Turkey.

The "lock out" of ship-builders on the Clyde has come to an end. When an employer strikes he calls it a lock out.

Why do you keep on talking about what Servia is going to do? Such talk won't serve us much longer. Rather have conundrums.

There is a report that Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Argyle are investigating spiritualism. The Princess Beatrice is said to be a very fine medium.

The British Relief Committee at Adrianople has ascertained that there are 10,150 fugitive women and children south of the Balkans who need instant relief. 1,500 of these are Jews.

The business of the Suez Canal has steadily increased. In 1870 its receipts were only £206,360; in 1876 they were £1,198,960. In the first five months of the current year the number of ships which passed through it was more than half as many as went through it last year.

The Turks have at last aroused themselves and become the attacking party. The loss of the Shipka Pass seems to have affected them, and they are making great efforts for its re-capture. On Tuesday, the 21st, Suleiman Pasha, who proves to be south instead of north of the Balkans, made a fierce assault with 30,000 men upon the Russians holding a fortified position two miles north of Shipka. The fighting was desperate and the Turks were repulsed with great loss. According to reports they have had no less than ten assaults. Both parties have made reïnforcements and the end has not come. The Russians feel confident of their ability to hold the position, though their losses have been heavy. There has been more or less fighting at various other points north of the Balkans. The Russian outposts at Eski Djuma, twelve miles from Rasgrad, were assaulted on the 22d by the forces of Mehemet Ali, 14,000 strong. The Muscovite held his main position after sharp fighting. Osman Pasha has made attacks upon Tirnova and Selvi, in both of which his troops were repulsed. The attempts at Tirnova were on the 22d and 23d. There is a report of some conflict between the Turks and a body of Cossacks who have been operating in the rear of Osman Pasha in the direction of the Ochordik Pass which communicates with Sophia. The report that 7,000 Egyptian troops have been landed at Sulina to operate in the Dobrudscha is not contradicted. The indications are that that there will be more Turkish activity in that dreary region. Gen. Zimmerman is fortifying and otherwise behaving as if he meant to stay all winter. In fact the Russians are gradually taking measures for a winter campaign and occupation of Bulgaria. Both armies are getting reïnforcements, but the Russians are supposed to be getting the most; both are diverting troops from Armenia.

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